OBSERVATIONS VPON HISTORIE.

By W. H. *Esq.*

Haliwell.

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TO THE READER.

THe world must forgive me my trouble, and perhaps its owne; if I throw my ſelfe on cenſure by this publicke Edition

of my private ſtudie. Theſe obſervations are hiſtory, ſuch as ſurpris'd me in the reading, & wch least my memory ſhould betray me, I committed to writing. They are ſingular accidents, and therefore more powerfull to arreſt the eye, and make the imagination ſtand amaz'd at the viciſsitude of time and fortune. And where can Phyloſophie finde ſuch sober

ſober precepts as out of hiſtory? Hiſtory, that faithfull preſerver of things paſt, that great inſtructer of the preſent, and certaine Prophet of the future. By it wee may diſcover the print which former ages made, and treading that, know how to avoyd the by-wayes of errour and miſfortune. By it wee are taught the value of humane things, by contempla-

plation of the frailtie and ruine of which wee are elevated to the love of the Eternall. For when we reade the ſubverſion of Empires, and looke for thoſe great Princes who commanded them, and finde not ſo much duſt left of them, as may ſerve the ſmalleſt wind to ſport with, what variety of power is not confounded? What authority with moſt famed Monarchs can

can ſecure it ſelfe, to the leaſt complacence, when the proud man reades the folly of all thoſe cunning Arts which advance to greatneſſe, but never could protect from ruin? And who can looke cloudie on his owne poore fortune; when he findes that the too much favour of Princes, like the too neere rayes of the Sunne, tans them they ſhine upon? Neither can diſ-

con-

content finde entrance into that ſoule, who by a juſt valuation of what is tranſitory reſolves fortune hath not in her gift vvhat may ennoble, nor in her rage vvhat may debaſe a vvell ordered minde.

This Hiſtory inſtructs us to; vvhich maturely read by a Sober ſpirit, hath powver in the uncertaine Sea of frayltty, to ſettle man fixt againſt

gainſt all the injures of nature hath depraved us to.

Farewell.

OBSERVATIONS UPON *HISTORY.*

Of Henry *the ſeconds aſſociation of his eldeſt Sonne to the regall Throne.*

Maude the Empreſſe, by the weakneſſe of her Sexe, loſt that Crowne ſhe had

had title to in being ſole Daughter to *Henry* the firſt. The ungratefull *Engliſh* oppoſing powre a-gainſt infirmitie; and violating that oath they had ſworne to her ſucceſſion; as if fealtie could not be obleiged to woman: and the more politick regards had authority to diſpence with the more honeſt. Yet did her ſon prevaile, and Anchor'd in the Haven of that Monarchie; from which ſo various tempeſts ſuch broken tides, and ſo many ſhelfs and rockes, had

had bar'd her. For the very Genius of this Nation by a ſtrange dotage on the male heires, hath ſtill bin cruell to the female, when they had a ſonne able for government. *Henry* the ſeventh, like this great *Henry*, not diſputing the title of a mother, when youth and action rais'd him to be acceptable to the Kingdome: though in that ſome contempt reflected on her reverend weakeneſſe. So little did the appetite of power regulate it ſelfe by the ſtreight rule

of conſcience.

But *Henry* the ſecond diſdain'd this diſordered voting in the people; who were in danger as eaſily to miſplace Authority, if fancie ſhould miſ-leade them to doate unlawfully: ſince in how dangerous a Doctrine an unwarrantable preſident inſtructs poſteritie? And with what little difficultie the multitude breakes all dutie, if by an awfull hand not kept to the moſt ſevere? The libertie of ſuch elections having beene ever of ruinous

ruinous conſequence to that Nation which maintaines it.

Among many gallant ſonnes to leave the Kingdome no diſpute about the choyce, he gave order for coronation of his eldeſt, thereby to exempt the people from the trouble of an hereafter ſuffrage. For ſince the violent entrance of his great grand father, *William* the Baſtard, on the government of *England*; paſſion had diſorder'd ſucceſſion, and no Prince but might

challenge in his tyrannie, a deſcent from the firſt uſurper. But King *Henry* brought juſtice to the throne, and making claime to the Monarchie by a ſtreight line, with more earneſtneſſe endeavour'd to continue it to poſterity.

But when pollicie ſhoots too farre, her arrowes fall ever wide; for humane judgement hath no ſight into the future, and miſtakes when it endeavours beyond a lawful diſtance. The wit of man delights to finde eternitie in a moment

ment; and to build a laſting edefice on a quickeſand. For what Arts can perpetuate Monarchie, and how fraile a reede is all our wiſedome to ſupport an empire? This very cunning in King *Henry* proved ſuch folly, that his friends were enforſt to pittie. For while in the pompe of this Coronation he ſeem'd even to ſurvive himſelfe, and ſee his eldeſt ſonne ſucceed: which happineſſe no Prince here had for long time attain'd. A ſudden Devill

(for what els can we terme ambition?) was rais'd, which no exorciſme of a parents awe had powre to lay. For this new honour created new paſſions, and the ſonne having equall title with the Father diſdain'd to want equall greatneſſe. Why ſhould he bee made a mockery of Princes, and weare the Diadem without the power? why ſhould he be thought worthy the throne, and not the Scepter? why ſhould his youth active to great attempts, be frozen up

up by the cold advice of a declining father? If it was wiſdom to raiſe him to ſo eminent a degree; why wanted he juſtice to exerciſe it? Vnleſſe his father deſign'd to make the moſt ſerious act of government, an interlude of mirth; and convert the Church into a ſtage to repreſent the Comedie more to the life. But though this was intended onely for a Pageant; yet did it behoove him in this firſt appearing to the world, to ſhew himſelfe farre above the ſcorne or ſport of either

ther his enemies or friends.

This was whiſper'd in his eare, and the diſcourſe pleaſing the vanitie of his paſſion, ſoone wonne authoritie on his reaſon. For with how little remorſe is the conſcience perſwaded when the leaſt apparence of juſtice priviledgeth ambition? what thoughts at firſt he feard to truſt his heart with; by this advice he enlarged to his tongue: and from private diſcourſes, he began open complaints; ſo that hee tooke confi-

confidence to urge his father to a reſignation of his Kingdome and other Provinces, which with ſo eminent a fame he hitherto had govern'd. Nor was a powerfull faction wanting both in *England* and abroad, who though at the inward tribunall of their judgement they condemn'd ſo unnaturall ingratitude, yet outwardly did applaude the young Kings moſt crooked wayes: which eaſily are made ſtreight to opinion, when they carry in them

them matter to foment hopes of innovation.

The father endeavourd by reaſon to calm thistempeſt, & advis'd the ſon not to anticipate vexation; for how ſmoth a brow ſoever Majeſtiepretended; the inward aſpect muſt needes prove rugged. Since no command is happie, if not innocent. The leaſt traine of wicked pollicie undermining the firmeſt edifice of empire. That hereafter when the Fathers death ſhall prepare the paſſage to the ſons government, the

the entry not being violent might bee happie and carrying with it no cloud of ſiniſter practiſes, might ſhine glorious. For the preſent, he intreated that patience which the Divine Law commanded; and all humane cuſtomes had ſtill obſerved. Withall he perſwaded him to tame his wild ambition: ambition; which if naturall, is a ſickeneſſe deſtroyes the body it poſſeſſes: if infuſive, a venome, miniſtred by the moſt malicious, againſt which there

there is no antidote but ruine.

That his aſſociation into the Kingdome, was not prejudice the preſent authority of the Father, but to confirme the greatneſſe of the ſonne in future. That it was high ingratitude to retribute diſobedience for ſo unexampled a favour.

But reaſon forc't by ſtrongeſt arguments was to weak to prevaile againſt thoſe many Caſtles built high in the ayre of his vaine thoughts. And ſeeing

ing his deſires batter'd by his fathers juſt reſolutions when he expected no reſiſtance; pride perſwaded him to ſeeke remedie abroade, and to force what he could not intreate. Suddenly therefore hee conveyes himſelfe and all his paſſions to King *Lewis* of *France*, whoſe daughter he had married, but never bedded: King *Henry* the Father carefully providing againſt the conſummation of thoſe Nuptialls; leaſt his Sonne might by the alliance increaſe in power and

and dependencies. But this pollitick barre which divided the young Princes mature for love, created rage in the young King, diſdaine in the Ladie, in *Lewis* diſcontent, but in Queene *Aeleanor* (*Henry* the fathers wife) an impious jealouſie. For ſhe who in her youth had made forfeite of her honour, and in her luſt (repugnant to Chriſtian Lawes) choſe a *Sarazen* for her Lover; interpreted this reſtraint of the young Kings wife, to a vicious deſigne in the old King

King and that all the cautions pretended were onely with the more artifice and ſecrecie to ſecure the fruition of his injurious pleaſures. And ſhee ſeem'd to have ground for her ſuſpitions in the much liberty of his former life; which ſeldome had in his reſtraint condemn'd that action diſhoneſt, which his blood prompted was delightfull.

This calumnie wrought the old King into the peoples hard cenſure, and brought compaſſion to

the young King, whoſe injuries ſeem'd of that qualitie as might authorize diſobedience. So that not onely *Lewis* of *France* who as being a Neighbour King, was concernd to foment that diſcord: but even many of the ſubjects to the Crowne of *England* prepared their Armes for an unnaturall warre The chiefe heads of which Rebellion at home, were the Earles of *Cheſter* and *Leiceſter*: who to give their King deſpaire of any ſud-

daine

daine quiet, fortified their Caſtles and other ſtrong holds, with ſo much Art as if they deſign'd to perpetuate miſchiefe. And what encouraged them to danger, was, beſide hopes of greatnes in the change of government; confederacie with the King of *Scotland*; by whoſe power joyn'd to that of *France*, they doubted not either to advance their fortunes by warre, or make an honorable retreate by peace. For when did unquiet ſubjects preſume to

arme, without promiſe of ayde from forraigne Princes? And when bad attempts with them proved unſucceſſefull; what ſtranger but diſavowed all under-hand darke intelligence? But the wonder of this miſchiefe was, that *Richard* and *Geoffrey* brothers to the young King entred into this conſpiracie; as if the blood of Princes had not flowed according to the courſe of Nature: and the eminencie of birth, had elevated them above the Lawes of filiall Dutie. To

To wreſt juſtice to either quarrell, both bewrayd themſelves: for infamie and rage ſhot no arrow to wound the others honour but repercuſſively flew backe. Even he who moſt apparently proved himſelfe injured, being guilty: and no man ſafe to fame, who had beſt title to defame his enemie. So unhappily had nature cimented them, that their fortunes and honours could admit no diſunion: and none could triumph, but when part of him

was ruin'd.

The Father amaz'd at the irreligious quarrell, forgot not nevertheleſſe, that he was to maime himſelfe if he deſtroy'd his enemie: and therefore by moſt loving addreſſes courted his Sonnes to more peacefull thoughts. He urged them to returne to dutie, with confidence that he retain'd a mercie greater than their errour. That their demand ſhould end in no deniall, provided that Reaſon gave it moderation; and that they would

would not chide with time, which yet enlarged their father life. That from their beſt confederates they could expect nothing but the breach of faith: and who could bee more intereſſed to advance their buſineſſe than a father? All other allies onely diſſembling friendſhip to entrap their youth: and nouriſhing this diſcord to diſſolve all the Ligaments of our Empire, and purchaſe ſafety at the coſt of our ruine.

But no perſwaſion could

humble the young-Kings deſires, his cauſe now juſtified by a generall ſentence, and his Armie increaſt by an univerſall confluence of his confederates. For into conſpiracie of miſchiefe, how eaſily are men drawne, who value the juſtice of the quarrell at the rate of their owne profit?

All the territories belonging to the Crowne of *England* were now on fire: the King of *France* with the unnaturall ſons waſting *Normandie* and *Aqui-*

Aquitain; the King of *Scotland* with the diſloyall Lords deſtroying *England*. In the meane time, the innocent people were offer'd a victim to both their furies; and the honeſt labourer forc't to the ſweate of warre, to obey the paſſions of thoſe Lords, whoſe quarrell hee underſtood not. So cruell is the fortune of the vulgar, that they can make no juſt account of their owne lives or ſtates, when Princes are pleas'd to follow the diſorder of their rage.

For

For at the expence of the common blood higheſt diſcords are maintain'd; and at their loſſe chiefely the ambition of the Mighty is purchaſt.

Victory at length brought the old King to the Majeſtie of a Father: and the young King inclin'd to obedience, when by overthrow of the King of *Scots* and the *Engliſh* rebells he found his faction weakned. For adverſitie hath a more powerfull Oratory, than all the wit of Pietie, to perſwade the proud

proud from their uſurped height. And ſeldome can we ſtoope to confeſſe our frailty, till compel'd by ſome accidentall weakeneſſe. But the Father had his armes open, when ever the Sonne would throw himſelfe into his embraces; never wanting affection to entertaine humility. And concord was thus reſtored: when the Sonne perceiv'd his inabilitie longer to continue impious; and the father found that his revenge would be moſt cruell to his

his owne Nature. The young King was to conſummate his marriage with the Daughter of *France* (for in all tragedies the amorous buſineſſe acts a part) with an allowance great as the dignity he wore, but no Soveraign power. For the Father gain'd by this treatie from his Sonne, the liberty to live a King.

All diſcor'd by this agreement appear'd rooted up, when indeede nothing but the branches were cut downe: For no free deli-

very

very of all the priſoners taken in the late battle, and fully re-inveſted in their greatneſſe: no over liberall allowance, no ſolemne proteſtations of a Father could winne authoritie with the Sonne. New diſguſts on the leaſt grounds were built, by his owne unquiet ſpirit, and the ſuggeſtions of cunning inſtruments. For he wanted that abſolute power his title challeng'd: from which he was debar'd by his fathers life and fortune: they who had adherd

heard to his diſobedience expected recompence for miſcheife: and hee unable to pay them for their ſinnes, rewarded their humour with diſcontent. His diſeaſe of minde was incapable of cure: for no Phiſicke without the mixture of his Fathers vitall blood could miniſter releefe, & that the old King preſerved againſt all practiſe: And to a reſignation of Empire, no Argument could perſwade him; not willing to encoffin himſelfe in a Church ſolitude

tude till death enforc't him.

At length unquiet thoughts deſtroy'd the young King who diſdain'd to live and not to raigne: and ſince he could be onely the mockery of his owne title, he was willing not to bee at all. For while with his brother *Geoffrey* he was in armes againſt his Father, and found no ſucceſſe to his deſignes: a violent fever with a flux ſeiz'd, and admoniſht him he was to dye: which he entertain'd with

with little horrour, till at laſt the conſcience of his many crimes frighted him with apprehenſion of that world he was ſuddenly to travaile to. The racke which put his ſoule to the extreameſt torture was the injurie hee had contriv'd againſt his father: which hee redeem'd by humble penitence: for the old King ſent his ſigner, whether he durſt not truſt his perſon: and aſſured his ſonne a pardon; which gave courage to his death and made him with leſſe trou-

trouble reſolve for his laſt account. Having by his prepoſterous aſſociation into the Soveraigne title, created to his father diſquiet and repentance, and to himſelfe onely enlarg'd the ſhadow.

The death of Richard *the firſt, King of* England.

THe ſeverall parts of humane life are diſtinguiſht by our vices. The ſmoothneſſe of youth is tyranniz'd by

ſenſuall pleaſure; the body growing to more ſtrength ambition engageth to action: but when age inclines toward the grave: Avarice, prepoſterous to reaſon, forceth man then to reckon upon treaſure, when death threatens to cancell all the bonds, and Out him from the world with no more gaietie than at his birth hee entred. Thus are we mockt by our owne ſinnes; vainely providing for the ſafetie of life, when the tombe layes claime to our wrinckles, and

and infirmitie holds before our eyes Times houre-glaſſe, with the laſt graine of ſand readie to fall downe. The ſoule buſying its thoughts with ſetting long leaſes, when it is ſuddenly to be turn'd out of its owne weak cottage.

Richard the firſt of *England* varied not from this common path; having ſtain'd his youth with luſt: honour'd his maturer yeares with triumphs: but leaning now toward age, permitting Avarice to be-

night the glory of his former actions. And ſo vainly did this wretched vice miſ-governe him, that as wandring by the conduct of an *ignis fatuus*, hee followed the acquiſition of an imaginary treaſure. For vvhile he purſued the puniſhment of ſome Rebell Lords in *Poitou*, vvho had aſſiſted, contrary to alleigance, the *French* Kings affaires during the late vvarres; hee vvas inform'd that *Widomer* a Vicount of baſe *Britaine*, had poſſeſt himſelfe of much vvealth: for-

fortune unavvares to his endeavours, having leade him to a ſecret cave, vvherein fooliſh Avarice, or feare of ſome ſudden ſurpriſe had buried vaſt treaſures.

This ſevere purſute thruſt the diſtracted Lord into ſeverall paſſions, vvhich councel'd him rather to foregoe his allegiance than his fortune: and knovving hovv ſafe even innocence and integrity are againſt the aſſault of povver; hee having no ſuch vvarrant fled into

Limoſin (a Country which owed to King *Richard* no obedience but what his juſt title and ſharpeſword did force) and in the ſtrongeſt towne there hee incloſed himſelfe, and the purchaſe of that treaſure which created him ſo many feares and ſo little ſafety. By the communication of his gold, he brought the townesmen into aſſociation of his danger: for where they are intereſſed in a regard to profit; what tye hath fealtie upon the conſcience, and how little

is

is a life eſteem'd, when money (that ſupreame felicitie of fooles) is concern'd?

The King diſdained thus to be oppoſed, threatning ruine and devaſtation to that place, which could ſo eaſily ſell its homage; and in the heate of rage and power he aſſaulted it, ventring for a poore bargaine, the Crowne of *England* and his principalities in *France* and *Ireland* For if his life miſcarried in the attempt; what intereſt could death reſerve for

him to Empire, who wanting children deſpair'd even to ſurvive in that imaginary vanitie? But when did paſſion take advice of truth? Or when powerfull Avarice inclined to revenge; what reaſon could give a bound to miſchiefe?

But the Towne reſolv'd to oppoſe: ſince no conqueſt could bring more deſolation, than to yeeld to that paſſion which hath no affinitie with mercie. And while the King when violence receiv'd repulſe, labourd

labourd by Art to maſter the place, an envenomed Arrow, ſhot by a revengfull hand, ſtrucke him into the ſhoulder. Which wound being dreſt by a rude unskilfull Surgeon, made the anguiſh inſupportable to any man whom rage arm'd not with a new kinde of patience. For neglecting all complaint, he ſo ſeriouſly uſed his wit and courage to proſecute his deſigne; that within twelve dayes he brought the towne to yeeld to mercie: Where after

after narrow ſearch, hee found the treaſure hee ſo vainely followed, a deceitfull viſion that miſled him to his ruin.

This conqueſt finiſht he began to acknowledge he was but man: for death commanded him away, and hee obeyd the ſummons. Then hee found another law to over-rule his ſpirits, and being to appeale from the ſeverity of the eternall Iuſtice, hee laboured in himſelfe to practiſe mercie. And in this ſhort intervall betweene

tweene the glorious thoughts of life, and his laſt houre, hee left his vertue an example to the moſt religious, as his valour had beene an envie in the moſt ambitious. For when the Paracide, in a pride of the high miſchiefe hee had committed, refuſed to lay fault on errour: but impiouſly aver'd hee did that great ſinne to revenge his Father and two brothers ſlaughtered by the King: the King forgave him with ſo much pietie, that hee rewarded even the Execu-

Executioner: and conjured his ſervants that this unhappie man might enjoy the comfort of his revenge, and ſurvive a Trophee of ſo eminent a mercy. But this pious Teſtament had no obedient Executors; the King no longer obey'd than he had liberty from death to command. For juſtice then unſheath'd her ſword, and leaſt the example of too much favour might afterward become an injurie, the Paracide was fleade and hang'd upon a gib-

gibbet: In the horrid ſilence of his puniſhment more effectually expreſſing his owne treaſon and the Kings mercie.

Before this holy Prince parted with his life, by much penitence he parted with his ſins. For higheſt courages fall loweſt when overcome by ſupernaturall grace. And how vaſt a progreſſe toward heaven can a ſoule ſo illuminated make even in a moment? For the immence bountie is not tyed to meaſure, and how can the quanti-

ties

ties of time preſcribe to the Eternall?

His teſtament beares evidence to poſteritie, that his minde was no way dazel'd looking downe on death from the higheſt precipice of Empire. For diſcreetly he made diſtribution of his command and treaſure: to *John* his brother, he bequeath'd his Kingdome, neglecting the weaker yeares of *Arthur*, and having more regard to the peoples ſafety than the right of blood: To his Nephew (though then

then Emperor, he left one part of his treaſure, the other to his ſervants; and the third to the poore, whom the wealthy never thinke their friends till death.

His bodie hee diſpoſed too, though corruption ſtill challengeth that legacie, and commanded it at *Fonteverard* to be layd proſtrate at his fathers feete, that even after death hee might crave him pardon whom in life hee had unnaturally offended: To *Roane* in teſtimony of his love

love, hee gave his heart; that great undaunted heart, which being more valiant than that of man, and the heavenly ſpirits wanting proportion for the compariſon was forc't to permit it ſelfe to bee call'd a Lyons heart. But his entrailes he bequeath'd to Poeters: to obrey'd it to poſterity with its ingratitude, as which by many treaſons was rendred unworthy to receive any Nobler part of ſo great a Prince.

The

The battell of Varna, *between* Vladiſlaus *King of* Hungary, *and* Amurath *the ſixt King of the* Turkes, 1444.

THe prevailing vertue of *Iohn Huniades* (the greateſt Captaine of that age) by continuall victory humbled the proud Monarch of the *Turke* ſo low, that peace was ſued for to the Chriſtians. Which *Vladiſlaus* condeſcended to, impoſing ſuch conditions as if

Fortune had made him Conquerour. And indeed it was ſought with an earneſtneſſe, ſo farre beneath their former arrogance: that it was receiv'd at firſt either as a high contempt or dangerous ſtratagem. But when time aſſured this overture to bee no counterfeite: *Vladiſlaus* demanded that *Amurath* ſhould withdraw all his Forces aud Gariſons out of *Servia*, and reſtore it to *George* the *Deſpot*: delivering with that Country to the long exil'd Prince his two

two ſonnes, whom the *Turke* kept priſoners, and whoſe eyes in hatred to the father had beene put out. That he ſhould never after make claime to *Moldavia* and *Bulgaria* which Countries the fate of the laſt warre had won to the Chriſtians: That he ſhould no way moleſt the *Hungarians* or invade any part of their dominions. And that hee might not onely part with territory, but even with money to purchaſe this peace, hee was to pay forty thou-

ſand Duckets to the King, and in recompence have *Carambey* his Baſſa, not long before taken priſoner by *Huniades* reſtored.

This peace the moſt honourable that ever Chriſtian Prince made with the *Turkiſh Sultan*, was interpreted ill and *Vladiſlaus* thought rather to have ſought his owne quiet, than the glory of the Chriſtian name. For in ſo high a tide of victory it could not be but a poore deſigne to ſecure his fortunes by treatie with an Infidell

Infidell, whom neceſſitie could onely make religious, and whom want of power could onely preſerve a friend.

This conſideration incited *Iulian* the Popes Legat, and agent for other Chriſtian Princes in this cauſe, to perſwade *Vladiſlaus* to repent his former peace; and to ſettle his Conſcience without ſcruple to proſecute the war. For what Religion could obleige him to preſerve an oath of faith, with him who onely endeavour'd

by pretence of fidelity to entrap him? Or why ſhould a nice pietie hinder the growth of Religion? Or to what purpoſe ſhould only one party be obleig'd, when experience inſtructed him that the *Turke* never ſwore but to tye the Chriſtian and enlarge himſelfe? But now was it more than ever impious to have peace, when all men concur'd to advance a warre ſo holy: where victory was an increaſe of Religion, and even to be overcome the high-

higheſt triumph of the ſoule, ſince it aſſured a Martyrdome.

And beſide the aſſiſtance of heaven, whoſe cauſe they fought, and whoſe ſouldiers they were; all polliticke regards concur'd to aſſertaine the ruine of the *Ottoman* Empyre: which not to doe upon the too tender conſcience of a league, was an injurious pietie, which onely merited reproach for a reward. For *John Paleologus* Emperour of the Eaſt, was then prepa-

red with mighty Forces, and proteſted that in religion to the Chriſtian cauſe, hee had refuſed by making peace to endeavour his owne ſafety. Many Princes likewiſe of the *Turkes* invited the *Hungarian* to this warre; deſirous rather to abate the overgrowne Empire of *Amurath*, then to continue the ſplendor of their Sect with danger to their ſtate. For religion hath but a ſlender tye upon that ſoule, which is over-ruled by ambition or private inte-

intereſt. And where maintenance of command was concern'd; what wonder if *Mahometans* labour'd the Chriſtians, common enemies of their law into aſſociation? Moreover all the States of *Italy* had prepared for the preſent warre, ſending their fleete into the *Helleſpont* to joyn with the *Grecian* Emperour, that the *Turke* on both ſides aſſaulted might in neither meete with any thing but ruine.

As for *Amurath* himſelfe; age

age and evill fortune had throwne him into deſpaire, and that confin'd him to a ſolitude: where in an impious pietie with certaine Monkes, counterfeite baſe coyne of the right Chriſtian ſtampe, he tyred his time away, and expected an ugly death. The whole government of that uſurped Empire, now by reſignation of the Father under *Mahomet* but fifteene yeares of age, fitter for a Schoole and obedience to Tutors than the manage of warre againſt

againſt as able Souldiers as the moſt warlike age ever boaſted.

But theſe regards onely look'd on pollicie; that which made the Conſcience free from obligation to preſerve this league Sacred, was a former made with the Princes of Chriſtendome. With whom to breake faith, was Sacriligious; and to maintaine it with an Infidell, ſinfull and ruinous. Vnlawfull oathes being vicious in the making, but far more in the performance. Hee who

who ſweares the burning of an Altar commits a crime: but his abſolution comes farre eaſier if repentance make him perjured, then if obſtinacie render him ſacrilegious.

Eaſily was the conſcience of *Vladiſlaus* untyed from his former league: the appetite of glory and extent of Empire oftentimes taking as ſoone away all ſcruple from the ſoule, as the moſt ſober reſolution of Divines. For *Huniades* (upon whoſe valour and fortune the ſuc-

ſucceſſe of the warre depended) had promiſe of the Kingdome of *Bulgaria*: and who not miraculouſly awed by vertue, will not endanger to bee but a bad Chriſtian to become a powerfull Monarch? The *Deſpot* of *Servia* had his hopes too, of a more ſetled principalitie, and ſome extent of power; and that made his Religion which never much troubled his preferment; diſpence with an oath, himſelfe had beene the chiefe actor to worke *Vladiſlaus* to. But above

above all *Scanderbeg* that miracle of true and happie courage animated to this warre: promiſing to bring 30000. Souldiers both for ſtrength of body and obſervation of Diſcipline excelling the moſt famed of Europe.

This joynt power, in ſo much ſecurity of *Amurath* precipitated *Vladiſlaus* into warre, which he managed with as much good order and ſecrecie, as a buſineſſe ſo generall could admit. For firſt preſent notice was given to the *Italian*

Italian fleete now in the *Heleſpont*, that it ſhould no way retire upon any rumour of peace. Then was it mutually agreed that *Scanderbeg* ſhould at an appointed day meete in *Servia*, and there both Armies joyne in the common cauſe.

The ſeaſon of the yeare might have deter'd any man, from this attempt in the depth of winter. Conſidering whē the King was come in to *Bulgaria*, and had numbred his men; *Dracula Vayvod* of *Valachia* diſ-

diſſwaded any farther progreſſe into that Country, *Scanderbeg* not yet come with his Forces, being in command of an enemie, who uſed often to Hauke, with a retinue more populous than his Armie. But ambition and preſumption grounded on former good ſucceſſe, deafen'd him to ſober councell: ſo that he went on as if heaven had beene tyed by miracle ſtill to come downe to his ſuccour. Which obſtinacie when *Dracula* perceiv'd, he preſented

ſented the King with two luſtie young men to bee his guides through the Country, and two ſwift horſes to ſerve him for flight upon the worſt of fortune: deſiring his Majeſtie ſince contrary to his long experience hee violently was carried into ſo inevitable a danger, that he would accept that gift which might bee of advantage if that happen'd, the very thought whereof he trembled at: But withall he prayd that this preſent might prove to be gi-

ven to vaine, whereby his prayers would appeare to have taken effect.

But no ill aboding language abated his confidence: and Religion which before deter'd, now gave courage: for what at firſt was held a reſolution doubtfull to Conſcience, became from diſpenſable to be lawfull, and in fine meritorious. So uncertaine is the judgement of man; that frequently thoſe deſignes, which carry the deformity of ſinne at the firſt ſight, become by long ac-

acquaintance of the eye, amiable, and win upon us bythe apparencie of vertue. Miſtake either deluding in the firſt encounter; or errour betraying upon a long diſcourſe. For practiſe of ſinne begets confidence, and when puniſhment wants ſwiftneſſe in the execution, it loſeth by little and little upon the beleefe.

The noyſe of this Armie weaken'd *Amurath* out of his devout dreame; and fearing his enemie might force him to that

ſolitude, hee voluntarily had undertooke, againe he entred upon the government. Which hee found running into diſorder by the weake age of *Mahomet*; no juſt title or hopefull youth creating authority to that Prince, who wants vertue to make his ſubjects beleeve him their ſuperiour. *Amurath* ſuddenly gathered in *Aſia* a vaſt power, and preſently marcheth to tranſport it into Europe. Two parts of the world being brought together to

to decide the great quarrell betweene theſe two Princes. But the *Helleſpont* was ſtopt by the *Popes* and the *Venetian* Gallies; and the diſtracted *Turke* began to feare his command was to be impriſoned in the third part of the then knowne earth. To enlarge himſelfe he marcht by the ſea ſide up the *Streights* of *Boſphorus*; where hee found the Marchant ſhips of *Genoway*, ready to trafficke with him: who tranſported his Armie, ſelling Europe for a hun-

dred thouſand Duckets. Though ſome lay this crime to the *Græcians*, who were poſſeſt of the ſtrong holds upon the *Boſphorus*, and whoſe faith the *Turks* gold corrupted ſo farre, that in the event every man became a Traytor to himſelfe.

The *Turkiſh* Armie paſt the *Streights*, the King of *Hungary* began to prophecie danger and intreate advice. Thoſe violent Spirits who diſdain'd the enemie a farre off, approaching now ſomewhat neere

neere, too much over-va-
lued him. Paſſion, like
ſome *Opticke* glaſſe, that
preſents a man at one end
a Pigmie, at the other a
Gyant, never faithfully in-
forming the underſtan-
ding. They who with moſt
ſwiftneſſe had ranne thus
farre, wanted not now the
ſame motion to carry
them backe. And the King
though hee never fail'd in
courage, was not unwil-
ling to have provided for
his ſafety, with ſome ha-
zard of his honour. But
the brave *Huniades* oppo-

led, and let him know that the number of the *Turke* was over-macht by the courage of the Chriſtian; and that the Almighty, who diſpoſeth victory, delighted in ſo juſt a cauſe to appropriate the honour of the day to his owne power. That the happie courſe of their attempts hitherto had inſtructed them, how feeble that enemie is, and how weak arm'd, who brings to the battle the inward horrour of a wicked conſcience That they with whom now

now the conflict was to bee, were no other but thoſe effœminate ſlaves, who had yeelded to the *Hungarians* ſtill matter of triumph.

Vladiſlaus was not uneaſie to be perſwaded todanger, and when he perceiv'd there was no retreate but muſt ſuffer the ſcandall of flight, hee reſolv'd his life to want weight, if put into the ſcale with honour. He left therefore the order of the battle to *Huniades*; who to fruſtrate the advantage, the *Turkes* had in num-

number order'd his Army ſo that on one ſide was a marſh, on the other the Carriages, and at the back a ſteepe hill. Thus out of danger to be encompaſſed by the multitude of his enemie he entertain'd the battle; and perform'd ſo well the part of a great Commander, that the *Turkes* began to deſpaire and the Chriſtians to preſume of victory: when old *Amurath* ſeeing his ſouldiers ready to flye, and by the example of former overthrowes miſdoubting

ting the preſent fight, pull'd out of his boſome the League of late enter'd into, and ſolemnely ſworne by *Vladiſlaus*, and holding it in his hand with his eye fixt upon the Crucifixe (which the voluntary Chriſtians bore for their enſigne) cryed out to Chriſt to revenge the perjurie of his people, who vvithout juſt cauſe had violated the faith they in his name had given, and to ſhevv himſelfe a God novv his honour vvas concern'd.

The

The proſperitie that ſo flatter'd the Chriſtians began through the diſorder of the Clergie men, and over confidence of the zealous ſouldier on the ſuddaine to change and the King engaged by too much courage among the thickeſt of the *Janizares* vvas ſlaine, aud vvith him the glory of the day fell to the enemie. For his head fixt upon a Lance, being preſently ſhevved a ſpectacle of terrour, the *Hungarians* vvho ſhould have dravvne revenge from

from ſo barbarous an object, loſt all courage: As if Religion to God had not equally animated them, with the zeale they owed the Prince. But there is a ſtrange kinde of more than humane vertue in the preſence of a King, who as the ſoule quickens the body of an Armie; which if he miſcarries becomes an unactive dead lumpe. A King whoſe preſence is vitall heate to the loyall but lightning to the Rebellious.

Huniades by flight reſerved

ved himſelfe to farther fortune: but *Julian* periſht there leſſe wounded by the enemies cymiters than the reproaches of the Chriſtians, who obrayded him to have perſwaded with breach of league; to enter into this fatall war. Which had it ended in victory the world would have ſaid that Chriſt diſdain'd to regulate ſucceſſe according to the vaine invocation of *Amurath*, and that it Religion is not ſo ruinous to it ſelfe, as to command obſervation of faith

faith with a faithleſſe enemie, whoſe very law enlargeth him to perjurie.

The loſſe of Conſtantinople *to the* Turke.

THe great City, Miſtis of the Eaſterne World, which gloried in bearing the name of *Conſtantine* the Great, was now after eleven hundred yeares commanded by another *Conſtantine*. But age and fortune made it now the common pitty, which had beene the envie of

of all the moſt Noble townes of the habitable earth. For Cities like humane bodies have their diſeaſes, and death is their fate, cruell to them as us. The vaſt extent of its command was ſtreightned to a ſmall circuit; and it appear'd onely its owne monument: ſerving the Inhabitants for an empty boaſt, and ſtrangers for Hiſtory. It had beene often attempted by the *Turkiſh* power, who diſdain'd the Chriſtians even a titular Empire, having forc't away

away all thoſe large Provinces, that heretofore preſerv'd it formidable.

Mahomet, was now enterd upon the *Turkiſh* government and the Neighbouring Chriſtians, were comforted in the change: *Amurath* the father having aſſured them, by a long cruell Reigne, that no Prince could ſucceede more dangerous. Moreover this new King, was by the Mother a Chriſtian which gave them hope (who were willing to entertaine any) that his

youth had receiv'd good impreſſions of Religion. But he ſoone aſſured the world that his blood by the mixture was growne ſo impure, that it rejected all thought of a Divinitie that might curbe it, when invited either by luſt or ambition. And hee hath left it diſputable to Poſteritie to the tyrannie of whether paſſion he more ſlavered himſelfe. But the latter was of farre worſe conſequence: which perſwaded him as ſoone to attempt the ruine of *Conſtanti-*

ſtantinople, as he enter'd on his owne Kingdome. It being a Law enacted by the unruly pride of that family, not to beleeve their command glorious unleſſe unjuſt; as if Rapine and injurie were the two ſupports of Empire.

At firſt hee entertain'd friendſhip with the Chriſtians: having two regards, revenge and treaſon. The King of *Caramania* had provoked his rage, in wanting patience to ſmile when he was injured: whoſe puniſhment

was the firſt reſolution of his government. And this diſſembled friendſhip was the eaſieſt way to worke the Chriſtians to ſecuritie; which would be a charme to make them dreame of ſafety. But they ſoone found themſelves betray'd for *Mahomet* was no ſooner releas'd from the deſigne of his revenge, but preſently reſolv'd on his ambition. *Conſtantinople* was prepared againſt, and with the more fierce deſire: In regard the conqueſt would not only poſ-

ſeſſe

ſeſſe him of the moſt Impe-
riall Citie of the world,
but raiſe him above the
victories of his Father and
Grand-father *Bazazet*,
who in vaine had attemp-
ted it. In which contenti-
on *Mahomet* ſhewed that
having no competitor
for greatneſſe among the
living, he was forc't to ri-
vall with the moſt emi-
nent conquerours of the
dead. And no family pro-
ducing ſpirits worthy e-
nough, he was conſtrain'd
to conteſt with his own:
by out-ſhining the glories

of his Anceſtors, to make his memory the wonder of all Hiſtory, and the envie of poſteritie.

The Spring opening the wayes for an Armie hee gather'd three hundred thouſand Souldiers; the leaſt part of which were the naturall *Turkes*, or renegades: Chriſtians were the maine bulke of that fatall body, and they onely ſuch whom his command and tyrannie enforced to the moſt unjuſt executions, but voluntaries out of *Germanie*, *Hungary*, and

and *Bohemia*, whom hope of prey and entertainement invited to betray the honour of their Religion. Men who coveted the warres to ſatisfie their Avarize by Rapine, having no honeſt wayes to ſubſiſt: Men who beleev'd their ſoules as temporary as their bodies, and who mockt their Saviour by carrying his name, when they fought againſt his cauſe. Men whoſe memory is onely ſafe in an eternall darkneſſe.

The poore Emperour

Conſtantine, having no treaſure and therefore no friends; ſought by his Ambaſſadors to the Princes of the Weſt, to move them by Religious compaſſion to participate his dangers. But they had their quarrells at home, hopes to encroach upon their Neighbours territory: Jealoſie of anothers growing power: Subjects not perfectly regulated to obedience: and other ſmall excuſes begot a ruinous neglect of the common cauſe. With much ſolicitation the

the Pope, the King of *Naples*, and the ſtate of *Venice* condiſcended to furniſh out thirtie Gallies in defence of that place, for which what Chriſtian ſhould not bluſh, not to have hazarded a life? But this aſſiſtance was no more remedie than trecherous comfort of a Phiſician to a patient paſt all cure: For it onely ſerv'd to pleaſe the imagination of the wretched Emperour; who like a man now drowning was willing to catch at every ſmalleſt hold.

hold. For this ayde, which could not have beene of ſtrength to reſiſt ſuch an oppoſition, fail'd him too.

But what title had the *Græcians* to complaine the neglect of ſtrangers, who were ſo cruell to themſelves? In the publicke danger, every man threw the care of his ſafetie on his Prince, yet tax'd his want of providence; grumbled againſt his ſmalleſt impoſitions; and denied ſupply when inſtructed in their perills: no man con-

conceiving himſelfe intereſſed to ſupport the falling Empire, though certaine to be over-whelm'd by it. If declaration were made of *Turkiſh* Forces levied, it was preſently ſuſpected a ſtate bug-beare to ſurprize the people with unneceſſary feares. If the enemie took the field, the Emperour was calumniated of underhand confederacies. If upon undeniable appearence of invaſion, contribution for defence was required, the over-politickes whiſper'd it nothing

thing but a State-ambuſh to ſeize unawares without Legall Order, the treaſure of the Empire. Thus when a Kingdomes ſinnes have procured an univerſall deſolation by the juſt ſentence of the eternall Iudge: the delinquent is blinded by his vices, and becomes his owne executioner.

Already vvas *Mahomet*, Maſter of one of ther elements the vvater paying him tribute. For before he layd ſiege to the Citie he built ſuch ſtrengths upon

upon the *Streights* of *Boſphorus*, that the rich trading to *Caffa* and other Ports upon the *Euxin* ſea was interdixted. So that the Empire acknowledg'd a maime, the Merchant diſabled to furniſh the Exchequer with the former cuſtomes. And the inſolent *Turke*, grew wealthy by frequent ſurprize of ſuch veſſells, which to their owne repentance and ruine continued traffique. For what dangers threatned by a remorſeleſſe enemie, and a more cruell

cruell ſea can deterre the covetous?

The enemie drawing neere the Citie, the Emperour in haſte made levie of what Forces hee could in ſo ſhort a time and ſo great a danger. Sixe thouſand *Græcians* he preſt, in whom he hoped the ſence of liberty would quicken the ſence of honour: and three thouſand *Venetians*, *Genowayes*, and other of Europe he entertain'd; making choyce of *Iuſtinianus* an adventurer of *Genoa*, (who with two tall ſhips man'd

man'd with foure hundred Souldiers, having ſcowred the Seas by accident, came to *Conſtantinople)* to be Generall of all the Forces deſtin'd for the laſt defence of that Empire.

And certainely while the leaſt probabilitie of ſucceſſe gave life to courage, no man perform'd more acts of great direction and admirable reſolution. But when fortune abſolutely forſooke the Citie; he forgot his Spirit; and gave proofe to the

the World, that no humane vertue can long triumph over ruine, unleſſe by heaven miraculouſly ſupported.

For while there was any ſparke glowing of the ancient Roman fire, with which the Citie firſt became the glory of the Eaſt; *Iuſtinius* made victory incline from the vaſt *Turkiſh* multitude to the defendants, ſtrong onely in honour of that cauſe they were to fight. So farre did courage deſpiſe number, that *Mahomet* enter'd into ſober

ſober councell, whether the attempt might not end in loſſe: and the chiefe *Baſſa* perſwaded ſafetie in a retreate, by the example of his great progenenitors. But emulation in the inferiour *Baſſas* urged young *Mahomet* to danger, to which the ambition of a proud nature violently forced him. As if heaven had forſooke the defence of whatever place, the luſt of his pride had deſire to violate.

And indeede ſuch fortune at that time pro-

ſper'd miſchiefe that the Earth appear'd abandon'd to his tyrannie. For when the vaſt labour of this ſeige threatned the *Turkes* to expire in reproach of the Aſſailants: the Haven keeping one ſide of the Citie ſecure from ruine, and open to releefe, in regard a ſtrong chaine, and many great ſhippes barr'd the enemies fleete all admittance. A Chriſtian, wittie to invent higheſt treaſon againſt that Majeſtie his profeſſion obleig'd him to

to obſerve, inſtructed the *Turke* upon certaine engines, by Land, to conveigh his Navie into the Port of *Conſtantinople*. Which paſſage oppoſite both to Nature and Religion; extended firſt to the terrour, then to the overthrow of the poore defendants. Who perceiving the Earth made Navigable, and the enemies veſſels to ſaile upon dry land; became aſtoniſht and ſubmitted their courages to the miracle of that power which triumpht o're

the Elements.

Yet in the hourely expectation of death, the wretched inhabitants of the Citie, omitted not the trades of life: and the enemie readie even to make prey of all their ſubſtance; the Merchant buſied his thoughts in continuance of his bargaines, and congratulated the ſmalleſt gaine: the builder rais'd up his glorious piles, as if not threatned to bee his monument; and the rich man reckon'd upon the unnaturall generation of his

his monies, as if no inſolent theefe endanger'd the principall. For though the Emperour fearing ſo fierce a warre from the moſt formidable Prince of the earth, labour'd to make his peace with heaven by prayers and faſts, and all thoſe humble acts to which ancient pietie inſtructs us; yet no commanded devotion could expiate the vices of a licencious Citie, ſome fondly beleeving it a point of valour to dare, in ſo viſible a danger to be vicious:

As if there were a cowardize ſo abject, as that captivates the minde to ſinne.

While any hope remain'd, the Emperour diſdain'd to give his courage over to deſpaire: and exhorted the tradeſman to forſake unſeaſonable labour to worke his owne defence: who ſullenly made anſwere, that it was to no purpoſe to fight upon the walls, and afterward to ſtarve in his houſe. And the Corne maſters, upon a generall complaint

plaint for want of bread, brought their graine in to the Emperour to be divi= ded indifferently among the people, with ſo averſe a minde, as if they had de= ſign'd it onely to ſupply the enemie, when at his entrance into the Towne, they were to be enroul'd his ſlaves. But the private wealth of the inhabitants was on no conditions to be borrowed in the gene- rall cauſe, every man deſi- rous to admit the barba- rous inſolencies of a new government; rather than

to part with that treasure, which they were shortly for ever to forfeite, and which then well order'd might have prevented so famed a desolation. But the Emperour at so sad a necessitie, forgot the ceremonies of Religion, and made bold with the wealth of Churches, to pay the Christian Souldier, least it might be destinated to a more prophane abuse

But no endevours could support an Empire ruin'd by the battery of an over-

power-

powerfull enemie, and undermin'd by its owne vices. For the *Turke* made frequent breaches, and gain'd even when repulſt with loſſe: for if the ſlaughter of five *Turkes* procured the death of one Chriſtian (conſidering the inequalitie of the number) yet had the Emperour juſtice to complaine. For his men loſt were irrecoverable; whereas the Infidell (as *Cadmus* is fabled) ſeem'd to have ſowed the dragons teeth upon any repulſe, new armed men

men growing up out of the earth in his defence.

Frequent aſſaults on every ſide brought the Citie to hope no honour but in ruine: for to ſervive it ſelfe and become the ſeate of blaſphemie; were to reſemble the puniſhment of a ſoule in hell, & grow more miſerable than not to be: That ſubſiſtance far more horrid than to ſuffer the labourer to plough up the rubbiſh of the moſt envied Pallaces. But this happineſſe was denyed, a long continuance

tinuance in vice prepared the way to the moſt powerfull impietie, that ever ſwayd the world. This Citie like a ſhip overcome by tempeſts, yeelded at length to a Sea of enemies which enter'd through the breaches, and ſuncke it for ever. In one of which *Juſtinianus* having receiv'd a wound, loſt his ſpirit; and by flight endeavour'd a poore reprieve of a diſgraced life: for who that was intereſs'd in the quarrell could out-live that ſiege and retaine his honour? *Con-*

Conſtantine the ſonne of *Helena*, allied in name and title, but not in fortune to the firſt *Conſtantine*) in the throng of thoſe who yeelded to the violence of the *Turkiſh* Armie, periſht; undiſtinguiſht among eight hundred, who preſſing for life became their owne murderers. But the narrow ſcrutinie of the *Turke* and his owne ill fate, denyed him even the honour of being unknown: ſo that as his life was more eminent his death had greater ignominie. For ha-

having that day his imperiall habit on; it onely ſerv'd to obrey'd his ruin, and ſequeſter him for more ſcorne from the vulgar. His head they preſently ſever'd from his body, to make a common reproach of what had beene ſo awfull in its diadem. And in the crueltie of that mirth, all hope and courage of the defendants periſht. The Citie three dayes lay proſtitute to the licence of the conquerours: who were wittie to invent new miſchiefes

chiefes to pleaſe their barbarous wantonneſſe. And well might they congratulate the fortunes of their victories; for never did ſo much treaſure become a prey to ſo much rapine: and never did ſuch ancient greatneſſe fall to ſo low a ſlavery; honour became a contumely, former wealth ſerv'd onely to aggravate future poverty: and beautie farre more cruell than wrinckles, betray'd it ſelfe to the moſt loathed deformitie.

Of

Of the Warre call'd the Common-weale in oppoſition to Lewys *the eleventh of* France.

SEverall deſignes drew diverſe Princes (who had relation to the Crowne of *France*) into league againſt *Lewys* the eleventh; and though no man endeavor'd but his owne intereſt, the Common weale was pretended. For no hypocriſie diſguiſeth with more cunning; ſince rebellion

lion, is ſo monſtrous to the eye of conſcience, that it bluſheth to appeare it ſelfe, and therefore weares a vizard which oftentimes betrayes the ignorant. Every man in taking Armes proteſted this warre contrived to worke a more honeſt peace: as if ſinne could ſmooth the way to vertue, and the conſpiracie of many tempeſts calm the Ocean. But the plot of every Prince was at the publicke coſt to purchaſe to his broken or unquiet fortunes more profitable con-

conditions: and the good natured vulgar with little trouble gave themſelves liberty to be deceiv'd.

Charles the Kings brother, *Charles* Earle of *Charolois*, *Francis* Duke of *Brittaine*, and *John* Duke of *Burbon*, were the heads of this monſter; for what other title can wee give Rebellion? The Kings brother diſdain'd the narrow revenue of *Berry*; *Charolois* the forc't delivery of many townes in *Picardie* heretofore morgaged to the houſe of *Burgundie*;

Brittaine was commanded to deſert thoſe ancient priviledges bequeath'd him by his Anceſtors; and *Burbon* in vaine had ſolicited payment of that portion *Lewys* deſign'd him with his ſiſter. Every inferiour Lord likewiſe had diſcontent enough to warrant to his paſſions the moſt unjuſt attempt. For *Lewys* of *France* had beene ſo ill a husband of opinion, that the world gave ſmall reputation to his carriage: and having at his entrance to the go=

vern.

vernment ſupplanted all the Officers of the Crown, and in their places planted thoſe whom his favour had ſelected, the better part of *France*, envied or contemn'd his choyce. For the ancient dependancies by this remove were weakned; and they who ſubſiſted high in Authoritie, imagin'd no death ſo wretched as this privation. Diſgrace therefore made them reſolve on honour, which ſince no other way, they deſign'd to buy with danger. For

the Royall favour could ſmile on no man, but whom the whole world beſide diſdain'd as unworthy the leaſt regard. What miſled the people to tumult, was a pretence to releeve the many impoſitions which lay heavie on the merchants trade, and the labourers ſweat. But when the ſilly vulgar by mutanie endeavour'd releaſe of payments; how neere reſembled they the Aſſe, which to eaſe her burthen caſt it downe into the water? For-

Forgetting that the loade was wooll which taking wet contracted weight, and that ſhee was a beaſt created to labour.

King *Leuys* perceiving this ſtorme with ſo much violence brought upon the very morning of his government: contrived at firſt to oppoſe it; and in ſome ſmall encounters ſhewed himſelfe no way defective in courage: however his much wit with ſo much caution over-ruled the motions of his ſpirit, that poſterity

hath brought his valour in-
to queſtion. But being to
make head againſt ſo uni-
ted a power, he found his
people as ſlow to their So-
veraignes defence, as they
were raſh to unlawfull
Armes. Every man be-
leeving his intereſt con-
cern'd to ſubvert that edi-
fice of power, which hee
ſuſpected to bee built on
tyrannie. Which perſwa-
ded all degrees of men to
runne into this warre,
though the hazard was of
the whole eſtate, for ſup-
porting the immunitie of
the

the leaſt part of every mans particular.

Lewys finding this defection ſo univerſall, enter'd into diſtruſt of his owne forces: fearing them, who had the ſtrongeſt tye of Dutie, to have the weakeſt tye of Love. And where affection Armes not the Souldier, how unſafe is the greateſt Generall, in the beſt order'd Armie? For diſ-affection to the Commander diſorders ſuddenly the higheſt actions: and how poorely he betrayes him-

ſelfe, who hopes to advance his deſignes by terrour? *Lewys* therefore flies from his Native ſubjects to *Auxiliaries*; and to teach *France* obedience, brings in Forces from *Italy*. The Duke of *Millain* liberally concurres to this Service, ſending five hundred men at Armes and three thouſand foote under the command of *Galeas* his ſonne. And with this power he preſents his advice, *That he ſhould yeeld to any conditions to divide his enemies, and be carefull ſtill to preſerve his men.* This

This Councell was of more ſervice to *Lewys* his affaires, than all the Armies he could have levied in his Dutchy. For by this hee kept his Majeſtie entire, and refer'd nothing to the uncertainetie of fortune. He ſpared the effuſion of his ſubjects blood: whereby his people were not in danger by their loſſes to hate that Soveraigne power had chaſtiſed them. But the former part of his advice was a ſtronger battery againſt the enemies deſigne, than all the Artilery

lery of that age could make. For to divide their Forces was to deſtroy them, and to bring them into jealouſie of each other was to make each the o-thers executioner: By which hee was ſecure at the enemies coſt and dan-ger, to worke his owne triumph. Then for yeel-ding to conditions, it was ſafer in *Lewys* to deſcend one ſteppe beneath Sove-raigne command, than to be enforc't to fall downe all the ſtaires. And having both wit and courage hee could

could not doubt but occaſion would preſent him with a meane to recover, if not to tranſcend his former height.

Varietie of chances brings ſoone both Armies to deſire to remit nothing to chance, and the warre having made both loſers, peace was equally ſought. And though want of victualls extreamely afflicted the *Burgonion* Armie; yet did *Lewys* not dare to take the advantage: the rage of hunger being ſometime an animation though

though for the moſt it diſ-
courages. *Lewys* therefore
having had no great for-
tune at the hazard of war;
deſired to change his game
and try how he could play
his cards in peace: where
the cunning gameſter is ſe-
cure at a long ſitting to be
the winner. And therefore
upon the firſt overture en-
tertaines the treatie, which
ſuddainely tooke effect;
No demand of the Princes
receiving the leaſt deniall.
But at the concluſion of
this peace, what was at
firſt pretended, was ne-
ver

ver mention'd: the people whom hope of eaſe of taxes had engaged to this warre, being no way regarded. For they were the ſame wretched veſſell ſtill, whom every tempeſt moves to danger, but no calme ever ſecures from wracke.

To his brother he grants the Dutchy of *Normandie*, a proportion beyond his very hopes. To *Charles* Earle of *Charolois* hee reſtores all the Townes upon the *Some*. To the Duke of *Brittaine* hee confirmes the

the Countie of *Mountfort*, with promiſe of money to defray the charges of his enmitie. On the Count S. *Pol* for having beene the great engine in moving theſe diſorders, hee beſtowes the Office of Conſtable. To the Duke of *Calabria* he promiſeth men and mony for the recovery of his Kingdome of *Naples*; ſo deſirous he was at any rate to buy his abſence. To the Duke of *Burbon* he gives aſſurance for the portion due to him in marriage with his ſiſter.

And

And to every great man who had beene in oppoſition, hee contributes largely: ſince the event of warre might have beene uncertaine to make a ſure bargaine by this Treatie of peace.

Thus at *Lewys* his coſt, every diſcontented Lord attain'd his aime, and triumpht in the fortune of his deſigne. And ſo farre was this agreement the ambition of both parties, that when the Earle of *Charolois* allured by the pleaſure of *Lewys* his endea-

ring

ring Language, was engaged into his power, and the *Burgonion* Armie gave their Generall loſt, *Lewys* return'd him backe with all the ceremonie of love; diſdaining an advantage that might ſuffer the blemiſh of trechery.

Actions of ſo extraordinary a vertue ſtrangely conduce to the fortune of a Prince: for they create him high in reputation; which keepes Soveraignety entire; and beget confidence to his after proceedings, which whether juſt

juſt or unjuſt are by that ſucceſſefull. For as to vertuous men faith is naturall, ſo to the pollitícke the practiſe of it is neceſſary. For how can any deſigne prove fortunate, when the contriver is held in diſtruſt? Pyrates and Politicians, as common enemies to mankinde, obnoxious to the ſelfe-ſame jealouſie: no man embarking his fortunes with either, but whom deſperation forceth, or libertie invites.

This accord changed

the face of *France*; the brow ſmooth with joy and acclamations, which had bin wrinckled with ſo many troubled thoughts. Every man retreates to his private entertainements: and diſcor'd no longer cimenting them, they divided their buſineſſe, according to particular intereſt. *Charolois* returnes home, & findes employment for thoſe paſſions the ambitious never want. He takes poſſeſſion of the townes aſſign'd him, and triumphs in recovery of a ſmall Country, whoſe unquiet

quiet pride, the world wanted extent to limit. Yet did he carry ſtill a vigilant eye over his great enemie, knowing that mighty ſpirits over-ruled by ill fortune, diſdaine that humility they are forc't to. And though conveniency or neceſſitie bend them down to low conditions; it ſeldome obleigeth the cõſcience longer than fortune reſtraines the power.

Lewys was not well pleaſed with debaſing Majeſtie to the irregular requeſts of them, who

ought not to have preſcribed their Prince. And ſince to oppoſe them all was unſafe, it was convenient to deſtroy one by one: that the revenge might bee more ſecure and leſſe obſerv'd. For thoſe wounds are moſt mortall that bleede inward; and waters which raiſe leaſt noyſe have the greateſt depth: The ſhallowes of Princes actions ſounding loudeſt to popular judgements: but where the underſtanding hath the chiefeſt agitation, the grea-

greateſt attempts proceed with leaſt diſturbance.

His reſolution was therefore to begin his revenge with him, who was neereſt to his perſon; thoſe contents being ſcarce heard which are ſpoken a farre off: but the leaſt whiſper pierceth, when the voyce, approacheth too neere the eare.

The late Duke of *Normandie* afflicted him moſt, in regard nature tyed his memory to a continuall torment, that prepoſterouſly his younger bro-

ther had prevail'd. For thoſe diſgraces obrey'd us moſt, which wee ſuffer where we have good title to claime reſpect. And betweene brothers the diſtance is ſo little, that the ſence of honour growes too tender: which makes the leaſt touch peirce the very quicke. *Lewys* therefore compell'd him to an exchange of *Normandie* for *Gaien*; either by remove, to prevent his growth in Faction, or by ſhifting him from one command to another: in fine to leave

leave him none.

But this Art was preſently diſcover'd; and the divided re-unite: bringing *Lewys* into the ſame feare and danger. Which with much diſſimulation hee prevents: And by over-pleaſing *Charolois* and *Brittaine* he gaines liberty to oppreſſe underhand his brother. Which was with leſſe difficultie conived at; in regard *Charles* now made Duke of *Guien*, was of an eaſie ſpirit, deſirous to maſter an evill fortune, but fearefull to effect

it with hazard. Moreover he naturally abhor'd war, either in Religion or compaſſion, and the complection of that time was troubled: Men onely ſafe who feared no danger, and ſuch Princes onely ſecure of peace, who were not frighted at war. Then which was his ruine, any probable conditions of ſafety, made him renounce confederacie with turbulent unquiet men. And who can hope from others participation of danger, who never entertaine

taine friendſhip but for neceſſitie? Or who will adhere to his fortunes who deſerts himſelfe; and no longer loves a confederate than hee is uſefull?

This inconſtancie in the Duke of *Guien* layd him open to King *Lewys*; who finding that his brothers life quicken'd ſo many diſorders in *France*, gave way (if Hiſtory be not unjuſt in cenſure) that hee ſhould dye. But nature yeelded little hope to effect the buſineſſe, the remedie

medie therefore of the preſent troubles was to be ſought from Art: and ſo well was the plot contrived, that he ſicken'd and dyed for the quiet of the Kingdome; for his death broke all thoſe intellegences had beene held ſo long in *France*: and the confederate Princes began to thinke on a new way of greatneſſe, not by diſturbing their Neighbours Kingdome but by quieting their owne ſubjects. A greatneſſe not deſtructive to their enemie, but effe-

effective to themſelves: Which creates a triumph more glorious becauſe more innocent. For power doth never ſhine unclouded, which is maintain'd by darke deſignes, or obſcure diſhoneſt Arts.

Of Charles *the fifths reſignation of Government.*

CHarles the fifth, Emperour of *Germany*, ſingular in the preheminence of life, diſdain'd

dain'd to tread the beaten way of Princes, now declining to his grave. In all enterpriſes hee ſtill appear'd ſuperiour to fortune, to whoſe mercy he reſolv'd to leave nothing in his age: leaſt that giddy power loathing infirmitie and wrinckles, might have diſtaſted him and forgot her flattery. But his courage did riſe yet higher, and vanquiſht death it ſelfe: Death that great Tyrant which adornes its darke Pallace with the ſpoyle of Kings,

and

and deveſts the Proud of all the gaudie circumſtance that ſwells their greatneſſe. Death was onely left him now to conquer: three parts of the world had ſeene the Trophees of his fortune, and all had ſubmitted but death. To which ſince inevitably he was doom'd to pay the common debt; yet he contrived it ſo, that it ſhould be ſmall loſſe to him, who had nothing now remaining but his body, and that weakned by time and ſickneſſe.

To

To *Bruſſells* hee ſummon'd all the Nobilitie of the ſeventeene Provinces, and ſolemnely cancell'd that ſacred obligation they owed him as their Soveraigne. To his ſonne *Phillip*, to that purpoſe ſent for out of *England*, he gave thoſe Countries and their homage. Tis true, he wept, but they were teares of wonder; his vertue not onely aſtoniſhing that great aſſembly but even himſelfe: the example was ſo new, it forc't him to an extraordinary ex=

expreſſion, with which his courage never had beene acquainted. For Nobleſt ſpirits in ſuch an extaſie weepe as faſt, as weaker ſoules out of fœminine ſoftneſſe.

Two moneths after he had made this eſſay upon his vertue, hee gave perfection to the great worke, and to his ſonne made tranſaction of his dominion over the reſt of his Kingdomes, Provinces, and Iſlands, both in this and the new world. Which was with greater courſe

courſe of Princes, as the buſineſſe was of larger extent and more value. For to this Trægi-Comedie came ſpectators from all the world, in regard the Scæne was ſo new, and the Actors the moſt eminent of that age, and perhaps as Noble as any other ever gloried in. Nothing was left him now but the Empire, which ſoone after hee renounced ſending to his brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, the Imperiall Crown and Scepter, by the hands of

of *William*, Prince of *Orenge*. Who though he appear'd unwilling to this Office, loath to ſee his Prince buried thus alive; yet with ſmall ſcruple he afterward rent from his Soveraigne King *Phillip*, a great part of the Low Countries, and indangered them all. Thus with a complement of regret the Subject often appeares in juſt things troubled to obey: who can diſpence with all duty when his owne ambition is concern'd; and juſtifie rebellion with pretence of

lawfull liberty.

Charles having nothing left him now, but what lives yet, the memory of his many victories; retired to private lodgings till the wind ſerv'd faire to waite on him into *Spaine*. And ſoone he found in his firſt ſolitude it was but his ſhadow had made him appeare ſo mighty: For being now nothing but himſelfe, he tooke juſtly his owne height, and confeſt he was but man. The ſwarme of thoſe Court-flyes who had quickned in

in the heate of favour; appear'd no more, now his aſpect though more cleere wanted the former vitall warmth. The wonder paſt, every man forſooke him who had left his glory; and as honour or profit directed them, began to beate new pathes. For what truth had in vaine heretofore labour'd to perſwade, now hee acknowleged: when hee ſo ſuddenly perceiv'd, that the ſupreameſt vertue, not made awfull by authority, can never keepe it ſelfe

high in regard, nor attract the applauſe of men. And though his ſonne King *Phillip* let fall words on the Anniverſary of this reſignation which ſeem'd to taxe his Father to have as ſoone repented as done this glorious Act of vertue; yet who can beleeve in ſo conſtant a minde ſo poore a frailtie? Perhaps he was a little amazed at the change: and the Sonne who was enamor'd on that Empire, his Father had reſign'd interpreted the wonder to repen-

pentance. Nor can we but imagine that *Charles* was ſomewhat aſtoniſht at the ſteepe deſcent hee had on the ſuddaine made from ſo high a precipice: though it was with a farre other paſſion, then tortures them who are throwne headlong down by death or fortune.

When hee landed in *Spaine*, he kiſt the earth, whether he had brought his owne to Sepulture: and made his lippes doe pennance for ſome few treſpaſſes his youth was

guilty of. He acknowledged it the common parent in that homage: and confeſt how high ſoever we are in growth, and however wide our branches ſpread themſelves; our roote is ſtill in the earth, till age, the Axe, or ſome, violent tempeſt plucke us up: and afterterward envious time takes away even the Print that ere wee floriſht there

At *Burgos*, where he expected the ſuddaine payment of ſome monies for diſ-

diſcharge of his attendance, hee expreſt a juſt diſdaine, perceiving the Officers ſlow to ſerve not him but his neceſſitie. And his title was honeſt to that paſſion: for ingratitude cannot bee forgiven by a mercy leſſe than heavenly, and he was yet apparrell'd with his earth. Of all the immence revenues of ſo many wealthy Kingdomes, hee had reſerv'd to his owne uſe, but one hundred thouſand Crownes annually, for that ſmall time hee was to

out-live his greatneſſe. And this was not payd but with trouble: for the living grudged to allow any tribute to the dead, among whom *Charles* was to be numbred when hee ceaſ'd to Raigne. But this ill nature of the world ſerv'd him to good purpoſe, for it comforted him that he had forſooke all commerce with that which ſervilely obey'd him onely, when as a Maſter, hee heretofore commanded it.

This haſten'd his finall retire-

retirement to a religious houſe of the order of S. *Jerome*; which was ſeated in a moſt wholeſome ayre, that he might not cowardly ſeeme to deſire to dye, vvhen hee had given over to command: And in this his valour out-did all former example; that after reſignation of ſo large an Empire, he could patiently ſtuddie the Arts to live, and contract his buſineſſe to ſo narrovv a roome: vvho had made nine journies into *Germanie*; ſixe into *Spaine*, ſeven into

into *Italy*, foure into *France*, ten into the Lovv-Countries, tvvo into *England*, and as many into *Affrick*. But vvhen hee fixt here, his ambition out-ravail'd in tvvo yeares, all the labour of fiftie: for his thoughts diſdaining to meaſure earth or Sea, vvhich *Geographie* can give account of; made hourely their aſcent beyond the fancie of *Aſtrologie*. Whether the humble onely can climbe, vvhom Pietie rackes till they acknovvledge themſelves duſt and ſin. Enter'd

Enter'd into this ſolitude, he felt a warre within him, of more terrour than that with which hee had awed the World. For now hee was to fight alone, where no confederate Prince came to his aſſiſtance, no ſubjects tender'd their lives with their obedience; but even his paſſion who ſhould have beene his ſlaves, with his fleſh a great part of himſelfe revolted, and conſpired his trouble. This combate ended in a happie victory; humane induſtry ſtreng-

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ſtrengthen'd by Divine grace triumpht over weakeneſſe, and inthroned him above his Rebells.

Yet had hee ſtill in his minde a ſoft eccho of the former noyſe of warre: thoſe houres he borrowed from heaven, to ſolace himſelfe on earth, were recreated with martiall ſports. Which was either to make a mockery of his heretofore moſt ſerious ſtratagems, and all the buſineſſe of the warlike: or elſe to exerciſe his time in the

the *Mathematickes*, which had much enamor'd him from his youth. For *Jannellus Turrianus*, a great Maſter in that knowlege, did uſually delight him with miracles of ſtudie, making little armed men muſter themſelves upon the Table, and Artificially move according to the Diſcipline of warre: which was done ſo beyond example, that the ſuperiour of the houſe, nothing reade in the Myſteries of that Art, ſuſpected it for witch-craft. Neither was

Charles

Charles himſelfe unapt to worke the little wheeles of watches, and to make a clocke up, which as it ſtrooke did warne him what vanitie it was, to reckon on the ſucceding moment.

And now this great Sun grew neere his night. But deſirous to out-live his funeralls hee obtain'd to ſee them ſolemniz'd before his death. A ſad curioſitie, to bee a mourner to himſelfe; and underſtand how ſhort a pompe waites on the moſt mighty

ty to the grave. The herſe was rais'd furniſht with all the vanity of hatchments, which told the world, over how many wide Kingdomes his power had intended: and to what a ſtreit lodging it was now ſhruncke up. The Mourners aſſiſted, and perhaps with as deepe a ſorrow, as would have pierc't them, had his griefe beene ſerious: while hee with a ſober mirth beheld the laſt Scæne of all his glory perſonated; and found what an

an emp ty honour Princes labour for in the ſweate and hazard of all their victories. For what a no comfort to the aſhes of the conquerour is the triumphs of his life: ſince onely Chriſtian [illegible] maintaines traffique betweene earth and heaven.

But death diſdain'd to bee made a ſport to the greateſt ſpirit of that age: for this odde paſtime ſoone became ſerious, and he found he was to dye in earneſt. VVhich hee per formed

form'd with the like cheerefull looke; for there vvas neither honour that endeared nor beautie that enamor'd him to the vvorld: and this two yeares ſilence had given him a taſte of heaven. He therefore without deſpute parted with that little of the earth, he had reſerved, and which in this retirement he had puniſht, till it grew ſubordinate to the ſoule. And though he had quitted all intereſt to Empire, yet would not heaven let him dye without

his comet. For as he ſick-kn'd a new ſtar appear'd: which gain'd in bright-neſſe as hee declin'd to-ward death, and poin-ting its glory on the Cloyſter vaniſht as he ex-pired: the poore comet unable longer to ſhine, when this greater ſtarre was dark ned, from whom it derived its luſter.

FINIS.

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Tho. Wykes.

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